

Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-10

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 /011 R

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DRAFTED BY: NEA/EGY;MSTERNER
8/24/73 EXT 22365
NEA/WSBUTCHER
CLEARANCE S/S O.K. KURZE
----- 050091
R 242336Z AUG 73
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USINT CAIRO

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 162262

EXDIS

FOLLOWING SECSTATE TEL AUG 15, 73 TO USUN NEW YORK INFO
BEIRUT EL AVIA IS REPTD.

QUOTE

C O N F I D N T I A L STATE 162262

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, UNSC, IS
SUBJECT: ISRAELI POSITION ON DRAFT RESOLUTION

REF:

1. ISRAELI AMB DINITZ MET WITH ASSTSECS SISCO AND POPPER
EARLY AFTERNOON AUG 15 TO PRESENT HIS GOVERNMENT'S VIEW
ON LEBANESE RES AND PROPOSED US SUPPORT FOR IT.
2. DINITZ RECAPITULATED HIS UNDERSTANDING OF SITUATION AT
MOMENT, NOTING ISRAELI COUNSELOR RAVIV HAD BEEN ON PHONE
TO NEW YORK ONLY 10 MINUTES BEFORE. RAVIV SAID RES HAD NOT
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YET BEEN TABLED. SISCO AGREED THIS WAS OUR UNDERSTANDING
AND SAID NONALIGNED NATIONS HAD BEEN WORKING ON RES AND
BROKE UP JUST 15 MIN BEFORE. WE NOW AWAITING WORD FROM
NY JUST AS ISRAELIS WERE.

3. DINITZ SAID HE HAD TEXT OF REVISED LEBANESE RES
DEPASSTSEC ATHERTON HAD GIVEN HIM OVER TELEPHONE. HE
UNDERSTOOD THIS TEXT LEBANESE HAD ACCEPTED AND U.S.
CONSIDERS IT GOOD ENOUGH TO VOTE FOR OR AT LEAST
ACCEPTABLE, SINCE ONE CANNOT USE TERM "GOOD" TO REFER TO
SUCH RES.

4. DINITZ SAID HE WOULD ADDRESS HIS REMARKS ON BASIS THIS
RES GIVING HIS GOVERNMENT'S VIEW. FIRST, HE WANTED TO
GIVE BACKGROUND AS TO WHY HIS GOVERNMENT HAD TO DO WHAT IT
DID RE LEBANESE AIRLINER EVEN THOUGH IT WOULD BE UNPOPULAR
ACTION. AS SISCO AND POPPER KNEW GOVERNMENTS SOMETIMES
FORCED TO TAKE ACTIONS WHICH DO NOT CONFORM TOTALLY TO
DICTATES OF WHATEVER BOOK YOU WANT TO USE TO DETERMINE
THEIR PROPRIETY. ISRAEL DID NOT DECIDE ON TAKING THIS
ACTION OUT OF BLUE. GOVERNMENT FELT IT HAD OPPORTUNITY
TO LAY ITS HANDS ON 3 OR 4 KEY MURDERERS, "YOU CAN'T
DESCRIBE THEM ANY OTHER WAY." THIS ACTION WAS NOT
SUCCESSFUL BECAUSE THEY CHANGED THEIR FLIGHT. THERE WAS
NO INTENTION TO CAUSE SINGLE DROP OF BLOOD TO BE SPILLED
OR EVEN TO DAMAGE PROPERTY. INTENTION WAS TO FIND
CULPRITS--CULPRITS WHICH NOT ONLY HAVE ACTED AGAINST
ISRAEL BUT AGAINST HUMANITY AND AGAINST U.S. ISRAEL DID
NOT EXPECT RECEIVE ANY BOUQUETS FOR ITS ACTION. AT TIMES
GOVERNMENTS HAVE TO TAKE ACTIONS WHICH THEY REALIZE WILL
NOT BE POPULAR. U.S. HAD DONE SO IN PAST. BUT
DISTANCE BETWEEN NOT RECEIVING CONGRATULATIONS AND THIS
DRAFT RES IS GREAT.

5. DINITZ SAID ISRAEL IS SERIOUSLY DISTURBED ABOUT RES
FOR THREE BASIC REASONS. UNLIKE RESOLUTIONS WHICH HAVE
CONDEMNED ISRAEL IN PAST, THIS RES IS TOTALLY DEVOID ANY
REF WHATSOEVER TO BACKGROUND. ISRAEL DID NOT INITIATE
WAR OF TERRORISM. ISRAEL DID NOT GET UP ONE DAY AND
DECIDE INTERCEPT IRAQI AIRCRAFT BECAUSE IT WAS BORED.
ISRAEL DID SO BECAUSE WAR OF TERRORISM HAS BEEN ASSUMING
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HIGHER AND HIGHER PROPORTIONS RECENTLY. THERE WAS
ATTEMPT ON EL AL FLIGHT IN ATHENS; THERE WAS HIJACKING OF
JAPANESE AIRLINER WHICH WAS BLOWN UP ONLY MINUTES AFTER
PASSENGERS LEFT; AND THEN THERE WAS BUTCHERY IN ATHENS
AIRPORT WHICH COULD HAVE RESULTED NOT IN DEATH OF FEW
AND INJURING MANY, BUT DEATH OF MANY. ON OTHER HAND
WORLD--AND THIS U.S. KNEW WELL, SINCE IT HAD BEEN
ISRAEL'S CONSTANT ALLY IN THIS FIGHT--HAS BEEN NEGLECTING
ITS JOB IN FIGHTING TERRORISM, WHETHER BY RELEASING
TERRORISTS ONCE THEY ARE CAPTURED OR BY BLOCKING ISRAEL
AND U.S. IN ATTEMPTS TO GET SOME ACTION IN UN. IN FACT,
UN COMMITTEE DEALING WITH TERRORISM, AT VERY TIME ISRAEL
IS BEING CONDEMNED IN SC, HAS AGAIN RECESSED SINCE THEY

COULD NOT ARRIVE AT AGREED ACTION. DINITZ SAID HE JUST WANTED TO INDICATE ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH GOI HAD TAKEN UNILATERAL ACTION IT TOOK.

5. DINITZ SAID ONE COULD SPECULATE ABOUT WHAT ISRAEL WOULD HAVE DONE HAD WORLD REACTED DIFFERENTLY TO TERRORISM AND TAKEN ON ITS RESPONSIBILITIES. ONE COULD WONDER IF ISRAEL WOULD HAVE STILL FOUND IT NECESSARY TO TAKE UNILATERAL ACTIONS AGAINST TERRORISM. BUT ISRAEL FINDS IT IS ONLY GOVERNMENT PREPARED TAKE PRACTICAL STEPS TO

FIGHT TERRORISM WHICH NOT ONLY IS DIRECTED AGAINST ISRAEL BUT AGAINST ALL HUMANITY. ISRAEL HAS BEEN BROUGHT TO DEFENDANT'S BENCH IN UN. AFTER U.S. HAS TRIED TO SOFTEN DRAFT RES IT STILL HAS NO REF TO TERRORISM AND DOES NOT EVEN CALL ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS TO CURB TERRORISM. IT ONLY CALLS ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS TO TAKE APPROPRIATE ACTION AGAINST ISRAEL. IT IS TOTALLY DEVOID ANY REF TO BACKGROUND.

6. DINITZ CONTINUED THAT SECOND BASIC REASON ISRAEL IS DISTURBED IS BECAUSE OF CONDEMNATION. NO GOVERNMENT LIKES TO BE CONDEMNED BUT WHEN TWO ISRAELIS WERE MURDERED IN TEL KATZIR SOME YEARS AGO A RES WAS BROUGHT BEFORE UN CALLING ON THAT WORLD ORGANIZATION TO CONDEMN SYRIA. THE BEST THAT COULD BE DONE WAS TO CONDEMN MURDER. AS PREVIOUS ISRAELI AMBASSADOR HARMAN SAID, "YOU DON'T NEED UN TO CONDEMN MURDER; TEN COMMANDMENTS DO THAT." THIS RES IS CONDEMNING GOI. IT IS CONDEMNATION NOT OF ACT
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NOR EVEN OF GOVERNMENT FOR DOING WHAT IT DID, BUT OF GOVERNMENT ITSELF. THIS IS CONDEMNING GROUP OF CONNIVING INDIVIDUALS FOR DREAMING UP ACTION AGAINST CIVIL AVIATION WHICH VIOLATED LEBANESE-ISRAELI ARMISTICE AGREEMENT, SC'S CEASE-FIRE RES, UN CHARTER, INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS ON CIVIL AVIATION, AND PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND MORALITY. THIS IS STRONG LANGUAGE AND EVEN IF ONE WANTS EXPRESS DISPLEASURE THIS GOES FAR BEYOND.

7. DINITZ SAID THIRD BASIC REASON ISRAEL IS DISTURBED RELATES TO TWO CASES WHICH ISRAEL CONSIDERS EQUALLY SERIOUS, IN WHICH THERE IS BASIC REF TO MEASURES AGAINST ISRAEL. CALL ON ICAO TO CONSIDER APPROPRIATE MEASURES IS INVITATION TO THAT ORGAN TO TAKE PHYSICAL SANCTIONS AND MEASURES AGAINST ISRAEL. ISRAEL HAS HEARD THAT NOW LEBANON CALLED FOR SPECIAL ICAO MEETING TO DISCUSS THIS MATTER. RES CAN BE CONSIDERED AS DIRECTIVE TO TAKE ACTION, AND IT WILL BE DIFFICULT THEN FOR U.S. TO OPPOSE SUCH ACTION IF IT SUPPORTS THIS RES. OTHER REF, WHICH IS POSSIBLY EVEN MORE SERIOUS, BESTOWS RESPONSIBILITY ON SC TO TAKE ACTION AGAINST ISRAEL. IN CONTEXT OF UN WORDS "CONSIDER TAKING ADEQUATE MEASURES" IS BUT SEMANTIC

IMPROVEMENT OVER "TAKE ADEQUATE MEASURES." THERE IS NO WAY SC CAN TAKE MEASURES WITHOUT CONSIDERING THEM. IT IS INVITATION FOR SC TO TAKE SANCTIONS AND, THOUGH DINITZ NOT EXPERIENCED IN BACKGROUND OF UN, HE DIDN'T EVER REMEMBER A RES IN WHICH U.S. VOTED SUPPORTING "MEASURES" AGAINST ISRAEL.

8. DINITZ CONCLUDED ISRAEL STRONGLY URGES THAT USG NOT SUPPORT THIS RES. DINITZ SAID HE COULD ADD HE WELL

UNDERSTOOD U.S. NEED TO LOOK AT THIS QUESTION IN CONTEXT ITS REGIONAL INTERESTS. DINITZ AND SISCO HAD KNOWN EACH OTHER TOO LONG AND TWO GOVERNMENTS ARE TOO FRIENDLY FOR ISRAEL TO CLOSE ITS EYES TO U.S. NEEDS AND IT WOULD BE WRONG TO DO SO. U.S. HAD TO MEET ITS REQUIREMENTS; ISRAEL'S ARGUMENT WOULD BE ON HOW FAR U.S. HAD TO GO. ISRAEL DID NOT BELIEVE U.S. HAD TO GO SO FAR TO MEET ITS REQUIREMENTS AND WONDERED IF IT WOULD NOT BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE TO PASS SUCH RES WHICH MAY ENCOURAGE ARABS, CONFIDENTIAL

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SINCE NOW ONLY ONE TO BE TOTALLY CONDEMNED IS ISRAEL. ISRAEL STRONGLY URGED U.S. TO RECONSIDER ITS SUPPORT.

9. SISCO THANKED DINITZ AND SAID FIRST THAT NEITHER HE NOR THE USG WOULD QUARREL WITH ATMOSPHERE WHICH DINITZ GAVE AS BACKGROUND. SISCO COMMENTED ON THREE SPECIFIC POINTS DINITZ MADE. REGARDING CONDEMNATION, IN TERMS OF U.S. REQUIREMENTS, U.S. CONCLUDED THERE WAS NO ALTERNATIVE AND ISRAEL MUST APPRECIATE THAT U.S. SAYS SO RELUCTANTLY. U.S. NEVER FELT THAT ISRAEL HAD A FAIR SHAKE FROM SECURITY COUNCIL. AS TO DISTINCTION BETWEEN CONDEMNING ACTS AND GOVERNMENT, RESOLUTION CONDEMNS ISRAEL FOR THIS SPECIFIC ACT. NOW, OF COURSE, ONE CAN TURN THIS AROUND THE WAY DINITZ PHRASED IT, BUT THIS IS BASICALLY A SEMANTIC OBJECTION; SUBSTANCE IS CONDEMNATION OF ACT PER SE. DINITZ SAID HE WOULD BE PLEASED IF IT COULD BE REWRITTEN SO THAT NO ONE COULD INTERPRET IT IN ANY OTHER WAY. SISCO CONTINUED THAT THIS RES WAS NOT UNLIKE SC RES OF DEC 31, 1968 ON BEIRUT AIRPORT RAID, WHICH "CONDEMNS ISRAEL FOR ITS PREMEDITATED MILITARY ACTION." U.S. IS AWARE OF IMPORTANCE OF SEMANTIC DIFFERENCES IN GOSSAMER WORLD OF UN BUT FOCUS HERE IS ON ACTS OF GOI IN U.S. JUDGMENT.

10. REGARDING SO-CALLED SANCTIONS, SISCO SAID THAT INsofar AS THEY RELATE TO ICAO, U.S. DID NOT FEEL THIS COMMITS IT TO ANY SPECIFIC ACTION. ALSO, IT IS U.S. ASSESSMENT THAT WITH OR WITHOUT THIS RES, QUESTION WOULD BE CONSIDERED IN ICAO IN MUCH SAME WAY NO MATTER WHAT OTHER RESOLUTIONS HAVE BEEN PASSED. U.S. ASSESSMENT IS THAT THIS RES WOULD NEITHER ADD TO NOR SUBTRACT FROM PROBLEMS U.S. AND ISRAEL WILL FACE IN ICAO AND THERE WILL BE SERIOUS PROBLEMS.

WHAT OUTCOME WILL BE AND HOW U.S. WILL DEAL WITH IT,
SISCO DID NOT KNOW BUT U.S. WOULD CONCERT WITH ISRAEL.

11. SISCO CONTINUED BY COMMENTING ON DINITZ' FINAL POINT.
LAST OPERATIVE PARA WITH CHANGE U.S. BROUGHT ABOUT DOES
NOT COMMIT U.S. TO ANY SPECIFIC ACTION, AND SISCO ASSURED
DINITZ U.S. WILL MAKE IT CLEAR IN SC THAT U.S. IS NOT
COMMITTED TO ANY SPECIFIC MEASURES. AGAIN, SISCO MUST SAY
WE HAVE PREVIOUSLY VOTED FOR SIMILAR PARA IN RES OF DEC
31, '68 WHICH "ISSUES A SOLEMN WARNING TO ISRAEL THAT IF
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SUCH ACTS WERE TO BE REPEATED, THE COUNCIL WOULD HAVE TO
CONSIDER FURTHER STEPS TO GIVE EFFECT TO ITS DECISIONS."
DINITZ INTERJECTED THAT THIS CALLED FOR STEPS, NOT
MEASURES. SISCO OBSERVED DINITZ KNEW U.S. HAD DONE ALL
IT COULD TO MODERATE THIS RES. SISCO DID NOT KNOW HOW IT
STOOD RIGHT NOW, BUT U.S. APPROACH WILL BE TO CONTINUE TO
DO BEST IT CAN.

12. SISCO WAS CALLED BRIEFLY OUT OF ROOM AND DINITZ RE-
ITERATED HIS CONCERN ABOUT EFFECTS THIS RES AND PARTICU-
LARLY ABSENCE OF ANY REF TO BACKGROUND OF TERRORIST
PROBLEM. DINITZ SAID WHEN HISTORIANS READ THIS RES, IT
WOULD APPEAR ISRAEL ACTED WITH NO JUSTIFICATION AND
MORE IMPORTANT, WHEN ARAFAT READ IT, HE WOULD BE ABLE SEE
THAT THERE ARE NO LONGER TWO COUNTRIES WHICH ARE OP-
POSED TO HIM, BUT ONLY ONE. DINITZ ASKED WHY THERE WAS
RELUCTANCE IN UN TO BE SPECIFIC WHEN TALKING ABOUT ARAB
ACTIONS AND NO RELUCTANCE WHEN TALKING ABOUT ISRAELI
ACTIONS. DINITZ SAID HE REALIZED ISRAEL'S POSITION IN UN
IS NOT VERY STRONG BUT IT DID NOT MAKE ITS CASE LESS
JUST. ASSTSEC POPPER COMMENTED DINITZ MUST UNDERSTAND
DIFFICULTIES UNDER WHICH U.S. IS WORKING. DINITZ SAID
RESULT IS NOT WHAT U.S. DESIRED BUT IT WAS WHAT CAME OUT.
POPPER REPLIED THAT WE HAD A RES TO DEAL WITH AND COULD
NOT DUCK.

13. SISCO REITERATED U.S. WILL DO BEST IT CAN. DINITZ
REPLIED U.S. AND ISRAEL HAVE NO DIFFERENCES ON MAIN
ISSUES; PROBLEM IS THINGS U.S. AND ISRAEL AGREE ON ARE
IMPLICIT; THINGS THEY DISAGREE ON ARE EXPLICIT.

14. IN CONCLUSION, SISCO SAID IN COURSE SC DISCUSSIONS,
U.S. WOULD MAKE IT CLEAR IT NOT COMMITTED TO SANCTIONS.
AMB SCALI WOULD ALSO MAKE CLEAR WE DO NOT BUY DISTINCTION
THAT IT OKAY FOR PRIVATEERS TO COMMIT TERRORIST ACTS AND
NOT STATES; WE WILL MAKE THIS POINT HARD. ROGERS
UNQUOTE RUSH

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 10 MAY 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: UNCONVENTIONAL WARFARE, COMMITTEES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 24 AUG 1973
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: kelleyw0
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973STATE162262
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: NEA/EGY;MSTERNER
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: P740011-0619
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730869/abqcendb.tel
Line Count: 270
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: kelleyw0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 23 OCT 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <23-Oct-2001 by willialc>; APPROVED <31-Oct-2001 by kelleyw0>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ISRAELI POSITION ON DRAFT RESOLUTION
TAGS: PFOR, IS, US, XF, UNSC
To: CAIRO
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005